

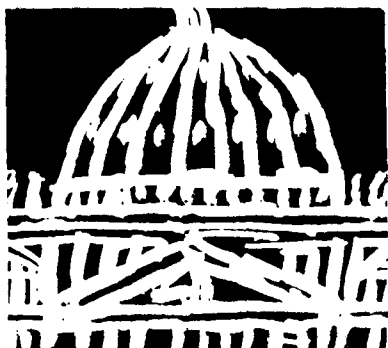
Volume LXXXVI No. 20 September 8, 1967 30 cents

commonweal

ST. CHARLES SEMINARY LIBRARY

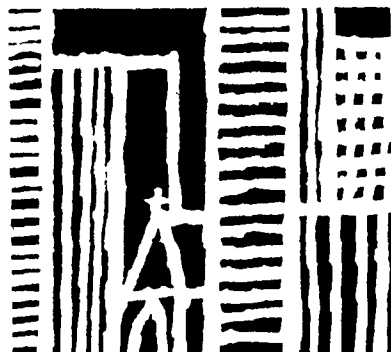
SEP 8 - 1967

CARTHAGENA STATION, CLEVELAND, OHIO



THE BISHOPS' SYNOD

SAMARITANS TO HANOI



WHAT PRICE REFORM?

ST. CHARLES SEMINARY LIBRARY
CARTHAGENA STATION
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44115

CORRESPONDENCE



Sieg Hyle

Wilmington, Del.

To the Editors: John Deedy's "Dialog—But Blandly" (Aug. 11) concerning the *Delmarva Dialog* seems somewhat unbalanced in presentation . . . ; it seems that Mr. Deedy has glanced only at the barometers in certain rectories.

The main criticism he seems able to bring against Bishop Hyle is that of "obliqueness." . . . However . . . there is a financial problem with the *Dialog* and Bishop Hyle *does* remain committed to renewal. In numerous ways he has witnessed to the latter fact (e.g., his recent appointment of two prominent progressive priests to the Priests Council after they failed to win election; the recent formation of the Pastoral Commission; permissive liturgical renewal; strong and early commitment to the inner city with his 1964 formation of the Office for Inner City Development; and the fact that the bishop has allowed the *Dialog* what is probably the greatest editorial freedom in the diocesan Catholic press—a freedom that is complete and remains so to this day).

The relationship of John O'Connor's liberal editorial policies to the financial problem of the *Dialog* is, to get to the crux of the matter, rather irrelevant. What is relevant is that steps had to be taken to correct that problem before it got even more out of hand. Mr. O'Connor's recommendation that the financial problems be dealt with by bringing the diocese's institutional pressure to bear seems rather incongruous with his otherwise liberal attitudes. A good paper, it would seem, can stand on its own without using the bishop as a club to whip advertisers out of their feeling that the *Dialog* is an ineffective medium . . .

JOSEPH R. MCMAHON

Proposal for Mid-East

Notre Dame, Ind.

To the Editors: Now may be a safe time to observe that Israel, without pre-
(Continued on page 559)

NEWS & VIEWS: 538

EDITORIALS: 539

THE INVISIBLE POOR OF THE GARDEN STATE: Joseph F. Gagen 540
WOMEN AND CHILDREN LAST: Richard A. Cloward & Frances Fox Piven 541
SAMARITANS TO HANOI: Adolph Schalk 543
FULBRIGHT'S GUERRILLA WAR: William V. Shannon 544
THE BISHOPS' SYNOD: Gary MacEoin 546
WHAT PRICE AGGIORNAMENTO?: Robert McAfee Brown 549
'THE REVOLUTION OF 1976': An Exchange of Views 550
THE SCREEN: Philip T. Hartung 553
BOOKS: 554

JAMES O'GARA: Editor

DANIEL CALLAHAN: Executive Editor JOHN DEEDY: Managing Editor

PETER STEINFELS: Associate Editor ANNE ROBERTSON: Editorial Assistant

MICHAEL NOVAK: Associate Editor (At Large)

WILFRID SHEED: Books PHILIP T. HARTUNG: Movies JOHN FANDEL: Poetry

ROBERT BARRAT: Paris GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN: Rome J. M. CAMERON: Great Britain

EDWARD S. SKILLIN: Publisher

JOHN BRUBAKER: Advertising Manager

COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.
 Second-class postage paid in Philadelphia, Pa. Printed in the USA and published weekly,
 except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and July-September,
 by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016
 MURRAY Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1967 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.
 US and Canada, \$9 a year. Foreign \$11.



LECTURE THE LEADERS

Senator Robert Kennedy could hardly have been more blunt, or more accurate, when he told delegates to the biennial convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice that the institutional church must bear its share of blame for the violence that has swept American cities this summer. The institutional church has gotten off rather lightly in the assessment of responsibilities. It deserved a scolding, and it received it from the Senator:

"Those churches that have ministered to the affluent flock while ignoring the hungry, the jobless and the unclothed in our cities; those churches that have compromised the moral imperatives of equality to win the support of their complacent followers; those churches that have ignored the plight of the migrant worker; those churches and church authorities who have shunned priests seeking to shatter the wall of apathy between the Americas—those churches have not aided our security; they have impeded it by depriving us of the understanding and communication we so desperately need."

Delegates to the NCCIJ convention were not unresponsive; they voted a resolution appealing to Pope Paul to issue an encyclical on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. "We need the guidance of Your Holiness to clarify the moral aspects," the NCCIJ declared.

The thought of an encyclical on racial discrimination is a wearying one; Catholics have been lectured on the subject to the point almost of becoming unhearing. But the NCCIJ's additional request of Pope Paul that he receive an NCCIJ delegation that would explain the reasons for seeking the encyclical is indication that more is being sought than a restatement of traditional (and sometimes hypocritical) pieties. This buoys interest, particularly if what the NCCIJ has in mind is an encyclical that addresses itself to the problem pinpointed by Senator Kennedy: an ecclesiastical leadership that by its compromises makes the institutional church an accomplice.

Such an encyclical would serve a useful purpose. For on race, as on other

questions, it is time to quit pretending that all is right in officialdom. It isn't. Until the situation is corrected, it is pointless to expect the masses to do other than reflect the racial apathies of those in authority.

J.C.M.—R.I.P.

Two essential questions face the Council, Father John Courtney Murray wrote as Vatican II built toward its climax, with key issues still up for grabs.

The first, he said, was pastoral and ecumenical: "The Church has always fought for her own freedom and for the freedom of her children. The question today is, whether the Church should extend her pastoral solicitude beyond her own boundaries and assume an active patronage of the freedom of the human person . . ."

The second question, he said, was doctrinal: "Is the assumption of this universal pastoral solicitude warranted? Is it grounded in the doctrinal tradition of the Church with regard to human dignity and the rights of man?"

Father John Courtney Murray was convinced it was, and, as a *peritus* to the Council, worked to see that this conviction was reflected in the documents emanating from the Council. The Declaration on Religious Freedom, in no small part his text, testifies to the validity of his vision and the persuasiveness of his logic.

A man of special gifts, Father John Courtney Murray lived at a right moment of history. He was eminently a churchman, but as a protagonist of human rights he was, in a definite sense, a statesman as well. He served state and Church separately and well, and both are the richer for his life's work.



The Invisible Poor of the Garden State

Collingswood, N.J.

The name of the farmer was Louis Pizzo. He was one of the largest growers in New Jersey's Cumberland County, mayor of his town, and a member of the State Migrant Labor Board.

Early last September Pizzo spoke to a New York *Times* reporter and a group of Vista volunteers about the migrants on his farm: "See those people in the field? Well, they're nothin', I tell you, nothin'. They never will be nothin', and you and me and God Almighty ain't going to change them. They gave me the bottom of the barrel, and I'd fire them all, clean them from the fields, if you'd get me someone else."

Pizzo insisted several weeks later that he was referring to a group of alcoholics who worked on his farm, but by

then it was too late for retractions or qualifications. Every newspaper and radio station in the state had picked up the story. Demands for Pizzo's resignation from the Migrant Board came from the NAACP and the State Industrial Union, AFL-CIO.

As the issue evolved, it was learned that Pizzo and Edward B. Fogg, another farmer-member of the board, had been cited for multiple violations of the migrant housing code on their farms. Charges of conflict-of-interest among the members of the Migrant Board were leveled, and Gov. Richard J. Hughes was besieged by demands for the abolition of the board. The N.J. Consumers League accused the Migrant Labor Board of failing to exercise leadership and authority. And the Presbyterian Synod of New Jersey, after hearing 11 migrant farmworkers describe the conditions of their existence, urged the governor to form a task force to study migrant problems—which he later did.

It was hardly surprising that the Presbyterian churchmen were moved by what they heard. Mrs. Lonnie Allen, a seasonal farmworker, captured the dead-end frustration of the migrant's life when she said (official transcript):

"Well, now, I cut asparagus ever since I was 15-years-old. You cut it seven days a week. You get up in the morning early. You work in the rain and everything. You make around \$34 a week. You don't know what you be gettin' because you cut it, and they pick it up and carry it to the market and come out with a piece of paper, and you don't know how to figure that stuff so he give you what he say. They don't have no written contract.

"If a contract is not honored, what can you do? If a man says he will give you 25 cents, he gives you 15 cents. You can't do nothin'. All you can do is argue at him. He say, 'you want another place to stay?' Where you goin' to stay at if you gotta move? He might tell you you gettin' five cents a pound. But how do you know you are gettin' five cents a pound? They carry it to the market, you don't see no paper. The man who carried it to the market, he get the paper and carry it back to the boss man. And on Friday he bring the check down. All you see is the \$34. If he gives you \$34, that's it . . .

"I want to say about the white potatoes, I have been in South Jersey now for 11 years goin' on 12. And they been payin' the same price ever since I got here up until now. They say the prices go up. But we never get no more . . .

"Also, the rats is so bad in our house, and I has four little babies in my house, and they cuts my clothes up and I have some I can show you that gets in the bed with my babies. I can't walk out on the porch unless they're

Summer Schedule Ends

Commonweal will resume normal weekly publication with its next issue, dated Sept. 22.

jumpin' over my feet. Can't go into my kitchen at night unless they're jumpin' all over my feet. They ate up a five pound of sugar in one night. When I tell my boss about it he tells me to go to the store and buy rat poison and put it around. Well I can't buy rat poison, I'm not makin' enough to buy rat poison to put all around the whole camp. Because they's all over the whole camp. My son shoots them with a rifle at night."

Joseph T. Wilkins, director of Southwest Citizens Organization for Poverty Elimination (SCOPE), a local community action agency, and a former inspector for the Office of Economic Opportunity, verifies the deplorable conditions. He told a State Migrant Labor Board hearing that in visits to migrant camps throughout the country he had never seen conditions worse than those in New Jersey. There are 1,827 registered camps in New Jersey; in 1965, inspectors for the State Bureau of Migrant Labor uncovered in them more than 15,000 violations of the Migrant Worker Code.

Approximately 20,000 migrants come to pick the harvest of New Jersey's fields each year. Of these, about 13,000 are Puerto Ricans; they are on contract and are guaranteed the hourly wage set by the Migrant Labor Division of the Puerto Rican Commonwealth and the Glassboro Service Association, a growers' cooperative. The rest are mostly southern Negroes who come north in whatever will carry them. Like the local seasonal farmworker, they live under the most depressing conditions and work for the variable and invariably low wage negotiated between the unscrupulous crew leader and the self-interested grower. The work period normally extends from May 1 to Sept. 30. (Migrant farmworkers averaged 116 days of work in 1963 and received an average income of \$1,123.)

Gov. Hughes named the recommended task force to look into farmworker problems and recommend solutions in January. After visiting migrant camps and holding hearings, the 12-member task force on June 19 handed Hughes 30 short-range proposals relating to housing and sanitation, health, education and welfare, economics and farm labor, and the role of government. (Among proposals was a \$20 per week state educational allowance for migrant children aged 12 to 16, in order to encourage attendance at school.) On Aug. 21 came another recommendation: that the state close down several South Jersey migrant camps as "public nuisances." Yet to come are long-range proposals after the task force completes a study of manpower needs in the state, the impact of farm mechanization on the labor market, and other related problems of the migrant.

The State Department of Education, meanwhile, is conducting an educational program for more than 1,500 migrant children this summer. And SCOPE, with more than \$300,000 in federal money, has launched a summer adult basic education program and plans a winter pre-vocational training program for migrants beginning in

October. Four Maryknoll nuns from New York City are among the 30 teachers working for SCOPE who are on the farms this summer to "meet the migrant." SCOPE is also conducting a day-care-center program, under which it offers day-long supervision, medical care, nutritional meals, recreation and education to more than 150 migrant children.

Despite the concern and interest shown in behalf of the migrant, however, the conditions of the farmworker's life have changed little from what they were two decades ago when New Jersey's model migrant code was enacted. The N.J. migrant still suffers the problems of a volatile and often low wage rate, poor housing, lack of medical and dental care and little or no education. Programs do not seem to have substantially changed his lot, and unionization has not had sufficient opportunity to prove its value to the farmworker in the east.

JOSEPH F. GAGEN

(Joseph F. Gagen is presently working as an evaluation officer for the anti-poverty program in South Jersey.)



The New Welfare:

Women and Children Last

On Aug. 17 the House passed, by a 415 to 3 vote, a series of amendments to an omnibus new Social Security bill designed to put a brake on the rising public welfare rolls. The proposals are probably the most punitive in this field since the Social Security Act was passed in 1937.

The legislation has two main thrusts. First, it puts a freeze on federal aid to impoverished children in "absent parents' " families, at the level of last January's percentage of such children on the rolls in each state. In the unlikely event that states grant aid to children in excess of this level, they would have to foot the whole bill, or spread existing funds among a larger number by lowering grant levels.

For the impact of this proposed "reform" to be appreciated, it must be remembered that 8,000,000 Americans depend on the public welfare system for their sustenance. Most of them are very young or aged or mothers; others are physically and emotionally disabled. And they are kept in bitter poverty. Nationally, a family of four on Aid to Dependent Children receives an average of \$1800 a year, ranging from a low of \$380 in Mississippi to \$2700 in New York.

Even more serious, the public welfare system now fails to give any aid at all to millions of Americans who are actually entitled to benefits: surveys show that for every person on the rolls, another is eligible but not receiving aid. The system keeps people off by not publicizing the fact of eligibility (welfare administrators will not release manuals unless compelled by court order), by a maze of

bureaucratic obstacles, and by just refusing aid to people even when they are eligible. These lawless and arbitrary practices (many of which are now being successfully challenged in the courts) work to keep the rolls down and budgets low, and thus to appease local animosities toward the poor and to ease local revenue problems.

As a result of all these practices we manage to spend less than one percent of our national personal income on public assistance, less than any other Western democracy; and the percentage is decreasing because income is rising rapidly but grant levels are not. For all these reasons, public welfare reaches only one in four of those who fall below the federal "poverty line" (\$3,100 per year for an urban family of four, and \$1,860 for a comparable rural family)—and it keeps these few well below that line. The proposed freeze will make this situation much worse.

The second thrust of the legislation is more dangerous because it is more insidious. The solution to rising welfare rolls and costs, both Congressmen and reformers say, is to expand employment training and opportunities for welfare recipients. Thus, the House proposes to cut off federal aid to *all* recipients over 16, including mothers with small children, who refuse to accept work or training (unless there is "good cause" for refusal); to cut off assistance to unemployed parents who have been found eligible for any state unemployment compensation within the past year, or who are receiving such compensation *regardless of the amount*; and to cut off unemployed parents who cannot show a "substantial connection" to the labor force (i.e., the long-time unemployed).

Many liberals are supporting the legislation because of the emphasis on employment, especially some additional provisions which would allow recipients to keep a portion of their earnings and would establish more

funds for day-care centers. But just who is to be trained and employed and allowed to keep some extra income? The legislation says "unemployed parents," implying that both fathers and mothers will benefit. As it happens, there are few fathers on the rolls, even in states where they are legally entitled to be, and so they pose no tax liability. In other words, this legislation is designed to force welfare mothers into the marketplace instead of creating full employment to deal with male unemployment in the slums and ghettos. The new legislation will alter the pattern by which men live off women in only one detail. Instead of waiting with ADC mothers by the mailbox on "welfare check days," they'll wait by the subway or bus stop for mothers coming home with paychecks.

The welfare rolls are rising, to be sure, and welfare budgets are rising even faster, but not as Congressmen seem to think, because laziness and immorality are proliferating. The chief reason is the mass upheaval of rural poor who have been pushed off the farms by rapid mechanization (a development promoted by federal agricultural policies) and who are now streaming into the central cities. Welfare policies are somewhat less restrictive in the cities than in the rural South: more people get on the rolls and get somewhat higher benefits. But many still receive little if anything, and the present reforms are intended to make it even more difficult to obtain aid. Nor will putting women to work solve anything. Soon, perhaps, measures will be proposed to rehabilitate children and the aged by putting them to work as well. Unless the Senate acts forcefully to withstand the action of the House, a bad system will be worsened.

RICHARD A. CLOWARD & FRANCES FOX PIVEN

(Drs. Cloward and Piven are faculty members of the Columbia University of Social Work.)



CARITAS IN VIETNAM

SAMARITANS TO HANOI

Geneva

Late last December Francis Cardinal Spellman made his now-notorious remarks to American GIs in South Vietnam, urging them to fight for "total victory." Just a few days later, in January, while his words were echoing throughout the world press, two other prominent churchmen, wearing Soviet helmets, were shivering in partially exposed air raid shelters not far from Hanoi, as American bombers passed overhead. The two churchmen were the famous Evangelical leader, Dr. Martin Niemöller, a co-president of the World Council of Churches, and Msgr. Georg Hüssler, secretary general of German Caritas, the Catholic welfare organization. Purpose of their visit: to see what kind of concrete Christian assistance can be given to victims of the war in North Vietnam.

Msgr. Hüssler subsequently explained in an interview with me: "There is nothing political about either our visit or our efforts to extend humanitarian help in North Vietnam. It is simply a question of the Church's service to people in need, regardless of national or ideological boundaries."

Although Msgr. Hüssler went to North Vietnam in a private capacity, his visit has taken on considerable significance, since he was the first Roman Catholic official to visit North Vietnam since the establishment of the Communist regime in 1954. One immediate result has been the birth of a regular correspondence between Ho Chi Minh and Pope Paul VI.

Hüssler's visit—and the Holy Father's donation of over \$100,000 to Caritas International last December for

use in both Vietnams—were the first tangible evidence that the Vatican's interests are not exclusively devoted to South Vietnam. Precisely such steps may be a start toward ultimately dispelling the suspicion of alleged political interference. Many a North Vietnamese breast still rankles at the memory of the intimate relationship between the former Diem regime and the late dictator's brother, Archbishop Ngo Dinh Thuc.

"We did not want to leave North Vietnam," continued Msgr. Hüssler, "without making some concrete arrangements to alleviate the suffering we saw everywhere. More than 70 medical institutions had been wholly or partially destroyed. More than half of Hanoi's former million population has been evacuated. Anyone who knows Asia knows that its cities are unthinkable without children. Yet Hanoi is a city without children."

"I was afraid," he went on, "that the officials of the government-controlled Red Cross, at whose invitation we visited North Vietnam, would ask for cash, with the risk that this money would be diverted for political or military purposes. We were prepared to refuse such a request. To my great relief we were presented with a specific request to build a 250-bed hospital with the latest modern equipment. Included in the 16-page list were requests for an automatic medicine-bottle-filling machine, sterilization equipment, laboratory supplies, equipment for several operating rooms and about a dozen microscopes. The project will cost about \$1 million."

Several weeks ago, at its executive committee meeting in Berlin, the Rome-based Caritas International enthusiastically adopted the project as reported by Msgr. Hüssler, in cooperation with World Council of Churches agencies. A spokesman for Caritas International in a telephone interview declined to say how many of its 76 member nations will be participating in the Catholic relief assistance to North Vietnam. Msgr. Hüssler said that he believes most of the 22 who were represented at the Berlin meeting would take part.

A random check by this reporter revealed that Austrian Christians in a bi-confessional drive will try to match previous donations for both Vietnams that have brought in more than \$1 million in recent years. Swiss Caritas will also take part. The German bishops have likewise made numerous appeals for help for the victims of both Vietnams. Past donations to the North Vietnam Red Cross by the private, bi-confessional Niemöller-inspired "Hilfsaktion Vietnam" have totalled over \$125,000. Misereor, the German Catholic overseas relief organization, which complements Caritas, has agreed to provide gynecological equipment and supplies. French Caritas will provide equipment for the ear, nose and throat department.

The conspicuous group abstaining from participation is the U.S. Catholic Relief Services. Published reports have quoted Msgr. Joseph Harnett, of the Philadelphia archdiocese, CRS director for the Mediterranean. Near

East and North African areas: "We, too, are very interested in providing help to alleviate the suffering of the Vietnamese people—north and south—but our government would not allow us to participate in this project, and besides I do not believe it will work anyway." He went on to assert that this would involve "obtaining materials and supplies either in East Germany or Poland probably and shipping them by land to North Vietnam. The logistics would need two years to accomplish."

Bishop Edward E. Swannstrom, executive director of the American Catholic Relief Services, in a similar statement has gone on record that, although "the gospel tells us that we are to love even our enemies . . . it is simply impossible" to bring food, clothing and medical assistance to North Vietnam. ". . . No one in his right mind would suggest that we give assistance to the armed forces of a government that is directly locked in battle with American troops. . . ." [There is no kindred reluctance, however, to being an instrument of U.S. military policy. Michael Novak reported in the Aug. 23 *National Catholic Reporter* that CRS's largest single program in Vietnam is distributing food as part of the salary of the 150,000 militiamen who form South Vietnam's Popular Forces. The food is intended as a supplement to equalize the pay of the Popular Forces with that of South Vietnam's Regional Forces.]

Msgr. Hüssler, who has publicly denounced U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, understandably was reluctant to comment on the Harnett and Swannstrom statements. "I can certainly understand the American point of view. They are in a very difficult situation."

However that may be, the logistical and transportation problems appear not to be nearly so difficult as claimed by Msgr. Harnett or Bishop Swannstrom. Msgr. Hüssler assured me that the first part of the West German contribution of several microscopes have already been received via rail through East Germany, Soviet Union and Red China by the Red Cross in North Vietnam, and that the first part of a shipment from France with equipment for the ear, nose and throat department "is at this very moment at sea en route to Haiphong." "Moreover," he added, "it is all western equipment, which is eagerly sought in North Vietnam because of its superior quality."

When I brought up the possibility of abuse, that these supplies might be confiscated, possibly sold or used for military purposes, Msgr. Hüssler assured me that the suffering is so great in North Vietnam as to make such an eventuality highly improbable. He has a very high regard for the North Vietnam Red Cross and specifically for Professor Tran Hu Tuoc, a well-known ear, nose, throat specialist, with a name made for himself some years ago in Paris.

"Of course there is always bound to be some risk. Look at the waste, proven corruption, black market and abuse in South Vietnam, and still we help. We have to take chances."

Msgr. Hüssler picked up a small rock from his desk and handed it to me. "Do you know where this is from?" he asked. I shook my head. "I picked it up on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho at about the spot where the good Samaritan story is believed to have taken place. I like to keep it on my desk as a reminder that Christian love knows no boundaries.

"You know, I became a priest a bit later in life than most men. During World War II, I was in the German medical corps and was a POW in Africa and later on under the Russians. One of the memorable moments during that awful time were a few kind words from a Bible-quoting British YMCA fellow. He was 'the enemy,' but his were the first words of Christian kindness that I heard from anyone. And I thought to myself, 'What

difference does one's confession or nationality make where Christian love is involved?'"

Although there have been surprisingly few objections from German Catholics over Catholic aid to North Vietnam, occasional criticism does reach Msgr. Hüssler's desk.

"Recently a critic angrily said to me, 'Why, what you are doing is prolonging the war!' And I answered, 'Nonsense! If this is prolonging the war, then so is the Red Cross.' And it seems to me that it is about time that the Church becomes at least as international as the Red Cross. In fact, it should be more international."

ADOLPH SCHALK

(Adolph Schalk is an American writer resident in Switzerland.)



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

FULBRIGHT'S GUERRILLA WAR

Senator Fulbright has begun a new campaign in his long guerrilla war against the Johnson Administration's Vietnam policy. Once again, the hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee provide the battleground. The combatants are Administration witnesses and a diverse group of dissenting academics and independent experts. The campaign theme is "national commitment."

Fulbright has introduced a resolution stating that it is the sense of Congress that the United States can offer a binding national commitment to another country only by the joint action of the President and Congress. The aim is to prevent the President from making random forays around the world without the consent and, sometimes, the knowledge of the House and Senate. A further purpose is to reduce the scope of existing American commitments overseas by forcing the Administration to define and defend its priorities and obligations more explicitly.

As background for hearings on this resolution, the committee asked the State Department to set forth U.S. commitments to all other nations. The department memorandum listed treaties with 42 nations and cited everything from news conference remarks to banquet toasts to illustrate the various gradations of commitment.

Although the scope of the resolution and of these hearings is worldwide, Vietnam remains the central issue. What is at stake is the future direction of U.S. policy in Asia. An important but secondary consideration is policy in the Middle East.

There is no controversy about national commitments on other continents. Of the 42 nations with which we have defense treaties, 20 are the Latin American states with whom we have a collective defense pact. This is a modern, multilateral expression of our oldest foreign commitment, the Monroe Doctrine.

Western Europe is another traditional national interest. The NATO alliance binds us to 13 European countries and Canada.

Africa is the only continent where the United States has no fixed obligations or sharply defined interests. There are only two treaties between this country and African nations. One is a vague treaty of friendship with Libya, where we have had air bases, and a somewhat stronger pact with Liberia which was settled by ex-American slaves in the nineteenth century. But even the Liberian treaty merely states that "in the event of aggression or threat of aggression against Liberia," the two countries "will immediately determine what action may be appropriate for the defense of Liberia."

Yet the cold war for political influence is waged between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in Africa as elsewhere. The principal scene of this diplomatic rivalry has been the Congo, where the United States not only strongly backed up the United Nations in quelling the Katanga revolt in 1961 but also, through the C.I.A., extended military and financial support to the Congolese government in resisting Communist-backed factions. Although C.I.A. assistance has been much reduced in the past two years, the U.S. did supply the Congolese government with three transport planes to assist it in putting down the latest incursion by European mercenaries. Because of strong protests in Congress against yet another foreign involvement, these planes were soon withdrawn. Black African nations would like the U.S. to adopt a more assertive policy against the practice of apartheid in South Africa, but the State Department career diplomats are unsympathetic. With the departure last year of G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams as Assistant Secretary for African Affairs and, more recently, of his deputy, Wayne Fred-

ericks, it can safely be said that this country will follow a passive policy in Africa.

One of the questions Fulbright submitted to Secretary Rusk before the hearings began was this: "Does the United States (United Nations obligations aside) have a national commitment in the event of attack from an external source or from internal subversion to come either to the military or economic aid of Israel or any of the Arab states?"

The answer was that although the last four Presidents have expressed "interest and concern" about the political independence and territorial integrity of Israel and its Arab neighbors, there is no commitment "to take particular actions in particular circumstances."

This question-and-answer exemplified the unreality that inevitably becomes part of this kind of intellectual exercise. Most State Department officials would like to maintain strict neutrality between Israel and its neighbors. President Johnson, who is mindful of the international oil companies and their dependence on Arab goodwill, has also never committed himself irretrievably to Israel. But does anyone really believe that this country would stand idly by and let Israel be destroyed? Distasteful as intervention in the Middle East would be, the U.S. would, as a last resort, use military force to save the Israelis, even though there is no commitment "to take particular actions in particular circumstances."

In addition to our alliance with Australia and New Zealand, the U.S. has bilateral defense treaties with South Korea, Japan, Formosa and the Philippines. Through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, we are, in effect, also committed to the defense of Thailand.

When critics assert that the United States is "overextended," it is difficult to see where they would cut back. Certainly not in Western Europe or Latin America, and there is virtually nothing to cut back in Africa, where there are no major programs and alliances, or in the Middle East, where there is only a tacit moral commitment to Israel. One possibility would be to abandon the almost defunct Central Treaty Organization, which was put together with a little glue and a lot of wishful thinking by John Foster Dulles in an effort to unite Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. This defensive alliance along Russia's southern border was to be underwritten by ourselves and the British. But the British are now withdrawing their military strength from the Middle East, Iraq long since joined the Arab radicals, and Pakistan has shifted into a virtually neutral position. Since Turkey is already covered by NATO guarantees, this leaves only shaky Iran. If the U.S. withdrew its support from the Shah, however, a radical regime would come to power. (This might be a good thing for the ordinary Iranians, although radical, Army-backed regimes have not accomplished much for the ordinary people of Iraq and Syria.) A radical government in Iran would probably align itself with Nasser and the Russians in bringing pressure on the conserva-

tive Arab governments (Saudi Arabia and Jordan), thereby destroying the balance of power in the Arab world between the pro-Nasser and anti-Nasser forces. The unification of the Arab world under Nasser's leadership, if it accomplished anything, would only bring nearer the potential destruction of Israel, which is exactly what the U.S. wishes to avoid.

The great imponderable is the course of American policy in Asia. Some observers believe that most probably Vietnam and the other small nations of Southeast Asia will pass under some form of Chinese hegemony, and that it is bootless for the U.S. to try to resist this natural drift of events by armed force. If this were true for Southeast Asia, it would presumably also hold true for the other small countries on China's periphery—Korea, Formosa and the Philippines. Only Japan has the population and economic strength to act independently of China if the umbrella of U.S. protection is withdrawn.

Those who are more sanguine about the future of the small, independent countries of Asia argue that Chinese influence can be contained just as the Soviet Union's strength is contained, that is, by the mutual deterrence of a nuclear stalemate. But American policymakers, rightly or wrongly, have always believed that to make the nuclear deterrent credible to the Russians in Europe it is necessary to station U.S. troops there. The French and other Europeans worry that we would not risk a nuclear exchange with the Russians to save Paris or West Berlin. If that worry is plausible, how much more dubious it must seem to the Asians that we would ever risk a nuclear war with China just to save South Korea or the Philippines. Only the presence of an American fleet and of American troops prepared to fight an old-fashioned ground war is likely to make the non-Communist Asians feel secure in standing outside China's orbit.

Whatever one may think of the merits of the Vietnam war, it is self-evident that at the very least the war is buying time for non-Communist Asians. The question is whether they are using this time wisely. The answers are mostly affirmative. Indonesia's new government has buried its pointless quarrel with Malaya, and both countries are joining with neighboring states in the first modest forms of regional economic cooperation.

India, however, which in population is the largest free nation in the world and is the natural political rival to China on the mainland of Asia, is making relatively little headway against its innumerable difficulties. The U.S. and other Western nations should be giving much more economic assistance to India. The Johnson Administration's requests for foreign aid are not large enough, but the blame scarcely lies with the Administration. This year as in the recent past, the Senate under the leadership of those well-known "doves," Senators Fulbright and Morse, has cut the request for economic assistance funds. Some people in Washington obviously do not have their priorities in order.

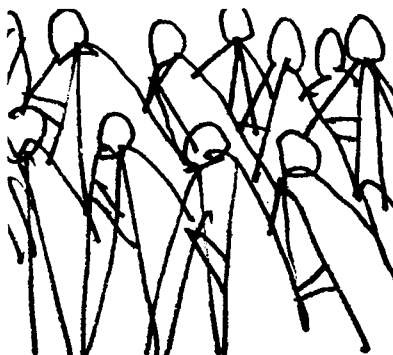
WILLIAM V. SHANNON

THE BISHOPS' SYNOD



Will it be fiasco or breakthrough?

GARY MacEOIN



Cardinal Alfrink of Utrecht called it "an ecumenical council in miniature" when he first proposed a synod of bishops at Vatican II. Professor Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P., declared early this year that it will fulfill all the requirements laid down in the Constitution on the Church for "a truly collegial act."

Agreeing with these descriptions, theologians and observers see the Synod of Bishops scheduled to open in Rome September 29 as the second most important occasion in the life of the Roman Catholic Church in this century, after Vatican II, or at least the second most important challenge and opportunity. Yet even at this late date, the hard facts known about it can fit on a postage stamp. If Pope Pius XII was right in stating that an informed public opinion is necessary to the health of every society, the Church is sick.

Ambiguity starts with the creation of the Synod. During the third session of the Council in 1964, the Fathers requested machinery to give practical effect to the principle of collegiality, so that the bishops might cooperate directly with the pope in providing for the needs of the universal Church. The many suggestions quickly coalesced into a proposal for what was then generally called a "senate of bishops."

Pope Paul's announcement in early 1965 that he was expanding the college of cardinals to give more representation to the non-Italian world produced widespread disappointment. It was interpreted as his way of fulfilling his promise, made when closing the third session in November 1964, to establish the collegial body the bishops had requested. An expanded college of

cardinals would still be handpicked by the pope, would, because of life membership, consist mostly of men over seventy, would be an organ of the pope as bishop of Rome rather than as pastor of the universal Church.

Nobody knows for sure, but those familiar with Rome's ways presume that the negative reaction to the expanded college influenced the next step. Opening the final Council session on September 14, 1965, Pope Paul announced that he would create a new body "composed of bishops to be chosen for the greater part by episcopal conferences" to give effect to the wishes of the Fathers.

With a speed unusual in Rome, the constituent document was published the next day. It had not been written overnight, however. On the contrary, much care had gone into it, and most of that care was directed to ensuring that the "papal prerogatives" would be safeguarded. Probably never in the history of Christianity was the standing of the pope so high and the recognition of his primacy so universal. In Rome, nevertheless, the search for anti-papal motives remains as popular a pastime as the search here in the United States for Communist inspiration in every progressive movement. The Constitution of the Synod reflects that obsession.

The Machinery

Synods can be of three kinds, general, extraordinary and special. The upcoming Synod is general. About two-thirds of a membership of approximately 200 are bishops elected by episcopal conferences around the world under a formula which gives one delegate to conferences of 25 or fewer bishops, two to those up to 50, three to those up to 100, and four to bigger conferences. Patriarchs, a few other senior prelates, and cardinals who head curial

GARY MACEOIN wrote an over-view of Vatican II: What Happened at Rome? The book is now in paperback.

offices, are ex officio members. Superiors of religious orders elect 10 delegates, and the pope can name bishops, heads of religious orders and "competent ecclesiastics" in a number not exceeding 15 percent of all the others. Synod secretary Ladislaus Rubin estimated in April that elected bishops would number 132, with 13 ex officio and about 25 nominated members. The American continent should send 43 delegates, with 34 from Europe, 31 from Africa, 20 from Asia and 4 from the Pacific area.

In spite of the universally agreed benefits both to the Council itself and to ecumenical relations which resulted from the presence of observers from other Christian Churches at Vatican II, no provision is made for observers at the Synod. Neither does it know *periti* as such, although the "competent ecclesiastics" whom the pope may name in his 15 percent will presumably fill the office of *peritus*. If appointed, they will have the right to speak and vote, as *periti* had at some ecumenical councils, though not at Vatican II.

Laymen are nowhere mentioned, either as members of observers. The use of the word *ecclesiastic* is presumably intended to bar them from the ranks of the pope's nominees, even if etymologically all Church members are ecclesiastics and even if some of our clericalized lay leaders should be called ecclesiastics under any reasonable definition of the word. Catholics concerned with our relations with the Orthodox regret the omission of laymen. "The Orthodox conscience," as Father Emmanuel Lanne, rector of the Greek College in Rome, recently commented, "considers participation of the Christian people in the synodal life of the Church as advisable, and non-participation as anomalous."

Juridically, the Synod has no authority. The pope summons it, if and when he chooses. He ratifies the delegates elected by episcopal conferences. He fixes the agenda. He accepts or rejects the advice the Synod gives him, and its function is restricted to "informing and advising," unless the pope authorizes it to make binding decisions and ratifies such decisions after they have been made.

The dynamic situation is obviously different from the juridic one, though just how different only time will tell. It would seem impossible for a pope in today's culture to refuse to ratify a delegate elected by a major bishops' conference. It would seem impossible to ask the bishops to elect 132 representatives and send them to Rome or elsewhere to discuss trivia while people are agitated by vital problems, to fiddle while the world burns. It would seem impossible for a pope to ignore a consensus of a Synod on a major issue. Although membership automatically lapses when the session ends, it would seem impossible for him to ignore an appeal to summon a new Synod after an indicated lapse of time. All these things seem inescapable. That is all that can be said today.

Secrecy is not mentioned in the constituent document, but a Vatican directive in 1966 imposed secrecy on all aspects. Secrecy is one of Rome's most endemic obsessions. Its purpose is usually not to hide information but to arrange its release in a form and at a time calculated to promote the interests of those who know the secret, interests which may be institutional or ideological, but which often are strictly personal (including financial).

The result is a natural refusal to take secrecy seriously. A few months ago in Rome I was handed a document stamped *sub secreto*. "What does that mean," I asked. "It means," was the cynical reply, "that you should show it only to your friends." More objectively, one is forced to examine the philosophic concept of the notion of secrecy. Human nature being what it is, can knowledge shared by 500 people or even by 50 be properly described as a secret?

The question quickly became a practical one. The constitution of the Synod directs episcopal conferences to choose delegates on the basis not only of their general knowledge and prudence but of their "theoretical and practical knowledge of the issues with which the Synod will deal." That means that several thousand bishops and many more thousands of advisers to bishops must know the agenda months ahead of the meeting.

In fact, when the United States bishops met in Chicago in April, the press published what the bishops quickly confirmed as an accurate copy of the agenda. That aspect of secrecy had dissolved, and one reason why the framers of the agenda had sought secrecy became evident. The press reported from Chicago informal criticism of the agenda by the bishops themselves, because of "its brevity, the relative irrelevance of its contents, and the orientation against significant reform implied in its tone."

The agenda may, however, not be as innocuous as it appears at first glance. It lists dangers to the faith and the best way to combat and denounce them, reform of canon law, mixed marriage problems since the *Instruction* of March 1966, seminary education, and the liturgy. The first two are grab-bag items under which almost anything can be brought to the floor.

The Council showed that a move to block discussion or distract it could become the opening wedge for the unwished discussion. The first point on the Synod agenda could similarly backfire. It is an echo of the Ottaviani letter to bishops last year which in prophet-of-doom terms saw enemies crouching behind every altar rail. The French bishops, followed by those of other countries, rejected its implications in no uncertain terms. Some have been piqued because, in spite of their insistence on its current unimportance, this subject has been given pride of place. It will be surprising if they do not reply in kind. Certainly their mood was not improved by the recent announcement that Michael Cardinal Browne would introduce the discussion with a report on current dangers

to the faith. This is the man whose theological views were rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Fathers of Vatican II on every important issue they decided, the man who opposed episcopal collegiality as objectionable on "historic, juridical, dogmatic, liturgical and other grounds."

Msgr. Rubin has told the press that neither celibacy nor birth control will be discussed. In all my constant travels in Europe and the United States since the Synod was announced, I find an absolute consensus that if they are not, the Synod will simply have been an effort to throw dust in our eyes. The publications of the reports of the commissions named by the Pope to advise on birth control has increased public expectation of synodal action on that issue, and the papal encyclical has had the same effect as regards celibacy. As *America* said editorially: "A papal letter addressed above all to the bishops of the world calls for a response from them, given in full freedom, and September in Rome will be a good place and time for that response."

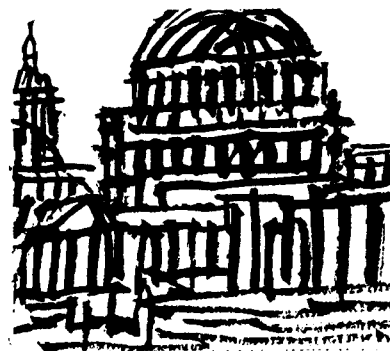
Problems of the Church and the world today which do not appear on the agenda include also relations of Catholics with other Churches, war in Asia, the relationship between world poverty and the arms race with its associated belief in the possibility of military victory, population growth and world development. During the April meeting of the *Justitia et Pax* Commission for World Development, participants urged the addition of an item on the subject of their concerns. When they were told it was too late, one of them commented bitterly: "I was hungry, but the agenda was closed." And there the matter rests.

Yet another subject urgently needing attention was mentioned by Father Francis X. Murphy, C.Ss.R., in a talk in Rome recently, the re-evaluation of mission methods. The technique hitherto followed in converting tribes and clans with a family structure based on polygamy, he said, was to refuse baptism until they renounced polygamous practices. "The consequence of this demand, however, in many parts of Africa and the Far East, has been a failure to convert these people, and the danger of their being taken over by religions more tolerant of such family and social structures, such as Islam. Is it possible that such people could be considered to be still living under an Old Testament dispensation? And that they could be baptised and then gradually converted to a thorough and therefore monogamous Christian life? This is certainly an area where the Synod of Bishops should concern itself."

If the agenda is now public property, everything else concerning the Synod remains under the secrecy directive. Of the many criticisms of this directive that have been expressed, the most important is that of the Canadian bishops. It does not concern itself with the rights of the press or the negative impact on world opinion of backroom deliberations, valid as these points are, but

goes to something yet more basic. The Synod, they affirmed, cannot perform its function in secret.

Since the action of newsmen during Vatican II, they said in a resolution adopted at their plenary meeting last April 7, "furnished an important dynamism for the life of the Council, we feel it our duty to urge that all facilities be given by the Vatican to the great media of information, so that they can provide the people of God with the services they expect from the press . . . complete and accurate information on all subjects discussed, and



also a feed-back to the Synod itself of the views formed and discussions provoked by this information among the people of God." Here we have the clearest statement of the Church's need for an informed and vocal public opinion.

Newsmen have since tried many times without success to get from Vatican officials a statement of their intentions and plans for press coverage. Early insistence that everything would be secret has recently been softened to vague promises of some facilities, though "nothing like the Council." I understand that Father Edward Heston, C.S.C., daily briefer of the English-language press at the Council, will perform a similar task at the Synod, but it is still far from certain that he will be permitted to attend the discussions. Unless he is, the whole thing may be a fiasco. The press has no confidence either in the ability or the willingness to come clean of the curial officials on whom Father Heston would have to rely if he lacks direct access to the facts.

Admittedly, it all adds up to a dense fog. I think, nevertheless, that we should not overlook one factor, the example of Vatican II. It began with much of the same indefiniteness, the same desire to obscure the issues, the same determination to keep the people of God in ignorance. The bishops found ways to do what had to be done.

Concretely, the bishops of the United States achieved what their people expected from them. They knew we were concerned with religious freedom and anti-Semitism, just as they know that we are concerned with birth control and clerical celibacy. They saw those issues to a good end. They knew we wanted access to information, as we now do, and on that matter also they were pioneers and protagonists.

• • • • •
WHAT PRICE AGGIORNAMENTO?

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

As Adam and Eve were being driven out of the Garden of Eden by the angel with the flaming sword, it is reported (in certain extra-canonical sources) that Adam comforted Eve with the words, "My dear, we live in an age of transition."

Most periods of history seem to be describable in similar fashion, and it is no surprise that the present period in the history of the Roman Catholic Church should appear to be supremely an age of transition. The transition is one from the period of the counter-reformation to a period of continuing reformation, though it is not as easy to posit the inevitability of this transition as it was when the Council ended. The pessimists are afraid that with the bishops no longer in Rome, the curialist desire to Turn Back the Clock will be increasingly effective. Evidence of increasing fear in the Eternal City about what the Council has unleashed is both impressive and depressing.

On the other hand there are those who argue, and I would count myself among such cautious optimists, that the forces of aggiornamento, now let loose, cannot be effectively stifled. At worst, the process can be slowed down, and slowed down to such a degree that many will lose heart, but it cannot be reversed. And my own major question during this period when the deceleration of aggiornamento is apparent goes: how many more good men will have to be sacrificed before the church boldly and confidently enters the twentieth century? How great a price in human creativity will be enacted before the atmosphere of Vatican II makes its way into the chancery offices around the world?

I recall, to be sure, that the price of advance for the church in the past, whether Catholic or Protestant, has always been a heavy one for individuals, and that today's supposed heresy often has a way of becoming tomorrow's recognized orthodoxy. But such advances, with their heavy human toll, were made before the church had recognized the right of religious liberty for all, before it had really come to terms with the fact that theological disagreement is a sign of theological creativity—a truth that Vatican II endorsed in its very activity, even if the truth is not spelled out in detail in its documents.

Must there be, in this new situation, the human losses that were so characteristic of past eras? It is a happy fact

that certain theologians who were in great trouble before the Council have lived to be vindicated by the Council. Fr. Murray saw teaching for which he was condemned a decade ago transformed into official Catholic belief. Fr. Congar, after years of enforced silence because of his ecumenical activity, has lived to see the Council endorse and encourage such ecumenical activity. Fr. de Lubac, once forbidden to teach French seminarians, is now quoted in papal encyclicals that are studied by all seminarians.

These men contributed to the Council and were vindicated by it. But what now seems to be happening, is that men who are drawing from the Council's teaching are not being vindicated by it. Speaking in the spirit of the Council, they are being attacked or suspended by those who voted at the Council. One learns that the Dutch theologian, Fr. Adolfs, is in serious trouble. A layman, John O'Connor, editing what by common consent is one of the ablest diocesan papers in the United States, finds himself forced to resign because his venture into superior journalism is too controversial. Charles Davis finds the tension between speaking the truth and being a Catholic theologian so high that he feels forced to leave the church. Fr. James Drane writes a series of articles explaining the present ferment on birth control, and is summarily fired from his teaching post at a seminary, forbidden to exercise his priestly functions, and told that he will not be recommended for work as a priest in any other diocese.

The Drane Case

The experience of Fr. Drane is a particularly telling and discouraging example of the price of aggiornamento. Fr. Drane is a vigorous and persuasive professor at the diocesan seminary in Little Rock, Arkansas, until recently the director of the Newman Club at Little Rock University, a member of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, an ecumenist of wide experience, a critic of American policy in Vietnam, and the holder of degrees from Middlebury College, the University of Madrid and the Gregorian University in Rome. His five articles on birth control were unexceptionable as to content, saying nothing that has not now been said dozens and even hundreds of other times in print by Catholic theologians. Having read these articles and profited by them, I make this assessment not

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN, *Professor of Religion at Stanford University*, writes a regular column for these pages.

simply as a non-Roman Catholic, but reinforced by the fact that many Catholic theologians, having read Fr. Drane's articles, have testified to their orthodoxy. These include such men of stature as the following: Fr. Roland Murphy of Catholic University, Fr. Robert McCormick, S.J., of Loyola University in Chicago, Fr. Thomas Daily of Canisius College in Buffalo, Jesuit theologians Robert Springer and Giles Milhaven of Woodstock and Robert Johann of Shrub Oak, Frs. Alfred McBride, Robert Hunt and Daniel McGuire of Catholic University, Fr. Peter Riga of St. Mary's College, and others.

Fr. Drane, after making extremely clear that he wrote in no official capacity, points out such things as the following: (1) there are radically different positions on birth control in the Catholic Church today, (2) lay people in this situation are more and more acting on the basis of their own consciences, (3) such action can be justified in terms of a full understanding of the meaning of natural law, (4) a new and creative understanding of the place of sex in marriage has emerged out of Vatican II, (5) teaching in this area is therefore in a period of development, the next step of which will be the recognition that new facts and a new situation necessitate a new understanding of the issues related to birth control, (6) in the meantime "good people are caught and tortured in the old rules," (7) papal teaching can change on this matter as it has changed on many other matters, (8) Catholic morality in this area has been too exclusively the work of celibates who therefore need further instruction by those for whom married love is a reality and not an abstract propositional matter for philosophical debate.

These are only a few of the themes presented with vigor and insight by a competent Catholic theologian

seeking to move the church beyond its present impasse. And yet today Fr. Drane cannot function as a priest in the church he loves and has been trying to serve.

If there is any ecumenical good to be wrested from an incident such as this, it is only to provide further evidence that the old monolith image can be laid to rest forever. For today orthodoxy appears to be dependent on geography. What can be spoken or written in many other parts of the Catholic church without fear of reprisal, is cause for suspension on suspicion of heresy in Little Rock, Arkansas.

To me it is almost beyond comprehension that the things Fr. Drane has said will fail to become commonplace of Catholic teaching and practice within a foreseeable future. The direction of doctrinal development (as he points out so clearly) can be charted with a high degree of confidence. What cannot be charted with such confidence is the timetable on the basis of which the development will come. And the timetable becomes increasingly important. For how many teachers and priests of Fr. Drane's caliber must the church lose in the interval? We need all the good men we can get these days—Protestants and Catholics alike—and it comes close to high tragedy to see the waste and sacrifice that are entailed in transforming *aggiornamento* from an ecclesiastical word into an ecclesiastical reality.

John Osborne's commentary on the British social scene was entitled "Look Back in Anger." I do not think we will look back in anger on such episodes as the ousting of Fr. Drane. I think rather we will look back in sorrow, grieving that good men who tried to help the church along the difficult road from counter-reformation to continuing reformation were called upon to pay so heavy a price.

an exchange of views



'THE REVOLUTION OF 1976'

WILLIAM H. DuBAY

Los Angeles

To the Editors: In his recent article, "The Revolution of 1976," Michael Novak almost choked on his words: "I never expected to come to use these words in this most lovely of nations: It is time to revolt, peacefully but, relentlessly." As usual, there is a good deal of charm and insight in this rather guarded statement, but along with the rest of the article, it offers us a clear picture of the ineffectiveness of the liberal Catholic in the work of social change.

Let's take his choice of the word revolution, for example. It is eye-catching and dramatic. The use of such an

explosive word is a good journalistic technique with which I, too, am quite familiar. But this technique must be used responsibly. Does Novak know, for example, that revolutions usually have to do with the *economic* re-organization of a country through the overthrow of the government? Is this what he is talking about? If he is, he better explain; a lot of people would be interested.

It does not take much study of our own history to know that we have a capitalistic economic system with a generous coating of democratic labels and processes. In most of our Western societies, in fact, the democratic franchise was not installed until the roots of liberal capitalism were firmly established. While such an arrangement did much to advance the cause of democracy and

freedom, making "this most lovely of nations" the most successful political experiment to date, the revolutionary would call into question the probability of its continued success, based upon its built-in practical and philosophical limitations. "What about the alienation of the worker from the fruit of his labor?" he would ask. Is it beneficial for society that a man sell his mind and body to someone else for eight hours a day just to be able to buy more expensive entertainments for his leisure time? Should not a man's labor be his own direct contribution to the life of the community and his means of communicating with it? And how about the growing lack of political power of the individual in our society? With the increasing mergers of powerful companies, all operating almost as foreign countries within our system, what chance has the common man to influence the life of his community which determines so much of his activities and self-image? Can our country survive the perpetuation of a system which holds the manufacture and consumption of commodities as more important than the orderly arrangement of social relations based upon the dignity of the individual? And what will be necessary to change a profit-oriented culture to a person-oriented one? These are questions that a revolutionary must answer.

Besides political mobilization, the most pressing problem a revolutionary must face is that of violence. Is it an option for a committed Christian? Or, in a situation in which the establishment is already using violence to protect its position and thereby already establishing civil war, is non-violence an option? If one is not a pacifist, can he not go beyond civil disobedience into sabotage of the war effort and active resistance? For the new left, violence is not something worked into the program, but rather a possibility dictated by the choice of methods of the opposition.

The revolutionary does not look to the Church, least of all to the liberal Catholic, for support. In fact he sees them both as part of the establishment that eventually will be destroyed. His animosity is not directed toward the religiosity of the Church, its authoritarianism, nor least of all, to its political irrelevance. The revolutionary sees, on the contrary, that the Church is quite relevant to the economic forces that must be changed. The Church is the proto-capitalist institution of the world, sacrificing much of its religious idealism on the altar of the absolute right of private property. The policies of the Vatican are dictated not as much by diplomatic or theological concerns as by the fact that most of the Italian economy is governed by Vatican investments. Likewise, the direction of the American bishops is governed by their rapidly growing power over the productive capital of our country.

I think it is great that Michael Novak is dipping his pen into the well of revolutionary fervor. But I must caution him to know well the middle-class, Catholic, and academic position from which he writes. It is a very vul-

nerable and precarious position from which to spout slogans of revolution. He is likely to be the target of the revolutionaries, who know where he really stands, and also of the established Church, which knows what revolution is really all about.

WILLIAM H. DUBAY

ROBERT LOMUPO

Warwick, R.I.

To the Editors: It would seem that such an intellectual as Michael Novak would realize that such label words as "old left" and "new left" and such dirty words as "colonialism," "CIA" and "Watts" are tossed around all too frequently to be taken seriously—at least, by a reader of *Commonweal*. Yet his article, "The Revolution of 1976" is peppered with such words—words that explode with connotation and are bound to smother the writer in his own fallout.

It has become rather characteristic "novakism" to indulge in such banner-waving. Characteristic also is Mr. Novak's dogmatism. He asserts that "popular opinion in the United States is so incredibly immoral," and then supports that assertion with the statistic that 26 percent of the American people would employ atom bombs in Vietnam. Certainly that is not nearly enough to indicate "popular opinion." Doesn't Mr. Novak feel any need to validate such a statement as "the inertia of the establishment is too deeply fixed for anyone to moderate its course from within"? Perhaps he feels that since his intellectualism is established, he doesn't have to justify such assertions.

Most annoying, though, is his curious ambiguity. He gives the impression that he is calling for a new revolution and solemnly states that he "never expected to come to use these words in the most lovely of nations." But his revolutionary proposals remain vague; he calls for "new organizations" and "new structures" but does not give a hint as to what direction these organizations and structures should take.

It is only because I agree with Mr. Novak's basic orientation and most of his premises; it is because I recognize that he is in touch with today's youth whom he so accurately described in the third paragraph of his essay that I would like to see him elucidate his ideas more carefully, more exactly, more responsibly.

ROBERT LOMUPO

FATHER WILLIAM H. DUBAY is president of the American Federation of Priests.

BROTHER ROBERT LOMUPO is a member of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, stationed in Warwick, R.I.

MARY C. SEGERS is a preceptor in the Government Department at Columbia College.

MICHAEL NOVAK writes from Saigon, where he is presently observing and writing.

MARY C. SEGERS

New York

To the Editors: At first glance, it is undeniable that Mr. Novak has captured and crystallized in his essay the mood of frustration which is slowly seeping through the ranks of both the peace movement and that large percentage of American Catholics who expected great things to come of Vatican II.

Nevertheless, I must confess that Mr. Novak's article is indeed alarming—not because of his prediction that “we might be on the threshold of a revolutionary period in our history”—but because of the glib assumptions and generalizations underlying that forecast. While I personally think that American policy in Vietnam is short-sighted and bungling (to say the least), I do not subscribe to the Left's continuing emphasis on “U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.” Nor has collusion between “the men of the right and the police, CIA, and FBI” been proven conclusively or satisfactorily—to my knowledge. I do not find the specter of police brutality lurking behind every intervention of the National Guard in state and local politics. Nor is it quite fair to dismiss the complexities of the struggle for equality in this country with the blithe generalization that “a majority of Americans . . . do not wish to see a further social revolution . . . in America [because] they are on top [and] are the beneficiaries of the suffering of so many millions.” . . .

In short, while I am in sympathy with the burning idealism which obviously prompts so many of Mr. Novak's statements, I am also beginning to realize that the fabric and thought processes of a society or organization change gradually, not by leaps and bounds. In other words, I submit that social change is most often a cumulative and incremental process—not a Marxian leap to a higher stage of development. Mr. Novak's article is disturbing precisely because it ignores this and provides fodder for the flames of extremism—be it in political or clerical circles. Perhaps it would be salutary to recall a rather homey maxim—namely, that “politics is the art of the possible,” be it American politics or Church poli-

tics. If one prefers a more sophisticated treatment of the same theme, Max Weber handles it rather nicely in *Politics as a Vocation*. . . .

MARY C. SEGERS

MICHAEL NOVAK

Saigon

To the Editors: When I completed my short article, I knew that the task of analysis had hardly been touched; consequently I am grateful for the opportunity to extend the discussion. (I am particularly grateful for Father Du-Bay's fatherly guidance through popular Marxism.)

Here in Vietnam one sees quite sharply the inherent limitations of the American consensus, and the inadequacy of present American domestic politics. At the huge airfield in Nha Trang a soldier walks by in tennis shorts, with racquet, smelling of deodorant and cologne; yet three miles away the countryside would not be safe for him. The huge expenditure of money and the masses of equipment are like a world of dreams—solid assurances afloat in a void.

Yet the U.S. policy has a certain logic to it. The vast sums of money are making many Vietnamese richer than they have ever been, and by now well over a million and a half people are on the U.S. payroll in one way or another. We are trying to buy these people out, to corrupt them with riches, and to defeat V.C. patriotism with Hondas and air conditioners. “The V.C. can't compete with prosperity,” a Special Forces lieutenant told me. Buy the South and blackmail the North: the American way of life.

There are countless good, honest people in America and their good, honest sons are over here doing what they've been taught to do: signs on Tuy Hoa base lavatories read: “Round-eyed personnel only,” in English and Vietnamese.

Revolution depends, of course, on your point of view. My analysis is as follows: the present conduct of the war in Vietnam is not a mere blemish on an otherwise healthy enterprise; it is the logical outgrowth of ingrained American myths of anti-Communism, racial superiority, and the security inherent in the accumulation of material goods. (The soldier struggling to lift his duffel bag, tape recorder and television set is a mirror image of the vast, complicated airbase insulated from guerrilla territory.) It is also the outcome of pragmatic politics—which are weak when the issue concerns presuppositions, not means and ends.

There follow from this diagnosis two strategies: the renunciation of the accumulation of material goods as a way to security, and the building of small but intensely personal and politically alert communities. Both of these strategies are being worked out and lived out among the Hippies and the New Left, at least in the State of California.

CHESTNUT HILL COLLEGE

CONDUCTED BY THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH

*Accredited Catholic college for
women. Liberal Arts and Science.*

WRITE:

REGISTRAR, CHESTNUT HILL COLLEGE
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19118



THE SCREEN

I do not shrink from the employment of organized violence under limited conditions, but I do not support violence in America because guerrilla warfare causes more human separation than it does community; and violence in America is not revolutionary but the usual way of life. Young and passionate men have been the ones to launch armed revolutions, not heeding the consequences. Middle-aged, middle-class and middle-brow, I don't expect to qualify as anyone's cadre leader. But I can report what I see happening among key American young people. And it is a transvaluation of values, a shifting of priorities, which coincides with the technological revolution that has *already* worked an economic revolution among us. Our politics have not caught up with our economics.

The alienation of many young people from "the American way of life," from traditional partisan politics, from pragmatic liberalism, and from scientifically oriented social studies, is acute. "The revolution," Péguy wrote (and he meant an economic and social reconstruction), "is moral or not at all." "Moral" is coming back into use as a good word. One reason is that previous revolutions have tried to do without it, taking man to be less than man.

It is for this reason, above all, that I think violence may be in part averted (unless the provocation becomes intolerable: concentration camps again). Cheap Marxism will not do the trick. As Hannah Arendt writes in *On Revolution*, it is the American Revolutionary ideal of conciliar communities that remains the unfinished task, the original insight yet unrealized.

How do you go about building genuine, responsible communities, in which each person acts with power? Fr. DuBay is right: Neither the Church nor liberals know. The "homey maxim" of Miss Seger is also right: "Politics is the art of the possible." But must our convictions about what is possible stop with Democratic Party liberalism—with Robert F. Kennedy and Sidney Hook? New technology, new affluence, new consciousness and new power demand a new vision of possibilities.

There is no new evidence available to document the theory that "a majority of Americans . . . do not wish to see a further social revolution." One watches Congress; one watches foreign affairs; one watches what Americans do and say. Does anybody believe that America is a revolutionary country, at home or abroad? Does a superior race, the arrowhead of human progress, think itself in need of a revolution to cure its moral sickness?

The revolution I am thinking of is a revolution of quality, not of quantity—one friend calls it existentialist politics. In an age of affluence, men do not need more things but a different kind of consciousness. But consciousness is inseparable from action. Hence, there are developing active and responsible communities, small in number but even now powerful in effect.

MICHAEL NOVAK

I suppose any summer that brings us films as good as "The Whisperers," "In the Heat of the Night" and "The Family Way" can't be a total loss; but most of the hot-weather fare that got audiences into air-conditioned theaters was middling. What with this magazine's bi-weekly summer schedule and my own sojourn in Germany and at the Berlin Film Festival, I have fallen behind in reviews. So here are a few notes on movies that arrived during the swelter-season and may even still be around for the first frost.

"The Flim-Flam Man" tells an amusing tale about a con man (George C. Scott) who travels through the South swindling suckers and is aided by a naive young fellow (delightfully played by newcomer Michael Sarrazin) who becomes his apt shill and pupil. Although Irvin Kershner directed his good cast well, he couldn't decide whether he wanted subtle comedy, realistic character sketches or outrageous slapstick; and the mixture as presented is peculiarly inconsistent. This American entry at the Berlin Film Festival won its international viewing audience completely.

"Bonnie and Clyde," one of the strangest although fascinating movies in many a year, is a commentary and interpretation of a couple of real-life bank robbers, Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow, who pursued their criminal careers in the 1930's when the Depression-plagued poor looked on them as modern Robin Hoods and the victimized rich realistically saw them as crooks and vicious killers. Director Arthur Penn tries to catch this dual view by switching from grim and bloody realism to black comedy, and from crimes to scenes of incredible beauty. He is helped greatly by banjo-type musical accompaniment that gives the picture a folksy tone and by the first-rate performances of Warren Beatty (who also produced) and Faye Dunaway, as the leads, and Michael J. Pollard, Gene Hackman, and Estelle Parsons as members of the gang. The film's greatest mistake, I think, is in making the Southwestern sheriffs and deputies such mean hillbillies; but the picture does not glamorize or defend the amoral Clyde and Bonnie, who behave like a couple of ham actors out for notoriety as they rob and kill. Obviously not for all audiences, "Bonnie and Clyde" is not a folk song but a dirge of irony.

"Divorce American Style" is another curious mixture of comedy and serious subject, but, because director Bud Yorkin and producer-writer Norman Lear mince no words or pictures in their cynical satire, the mixture

works. Furthermore, some American customs—like marriage modes and divorce didoes—deserve the ribbing they get here. Dick Van Dyke and Debbie Reynolds are fine as the couple whose bickering and petty squabbles lead to divorce after 17 years of marriage. The movie has a lot to say about the silliness of this separation, about the problems with children, about alimony, about what-next-after-divorce, and about other aspects of behavior in our society. While most of this is told with crisp humor and sometimes biting burlesque, the film also succeeds in getting in some poignant touches that are as disturbing as the satire. The supporting cast—including Van Johnson, Jean Simmons, Jason Robards, Tom Bosley, and many more as divorced folk, legal advisors, friends and gossips—help to brighten the diatribe. My only quarrel

with the pic is that it runs too long. Unlike marriage, it should stop when it's made its point.

"Luv" should most likely not have been made into a movie at all. It is based on Murray Schisgal's three-character play which was set on the Brooklyn Bridge and spouted the abstract notions of two men and a woman on luv, marriage, divorce, life and luv. But unfortunately the film has been expanded into a 95-minute bore with many more characters and sets. Schisgal's vague but true ramblings have vanished into the realistic rooms and street scenes; and Jack Lemmon, Peter Falk, and even the brilliant Elaine May can do little but act as if they were looking for the hilarious lines from the original play.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

'Exegesis' to chill the exegete

The Life of Jesus

MARCELLO CRAVERI

Grove Press, \$7.95

GEORGE MacRAE

Here is a simple old-fashioned recipe. Take Christian understanding of the Gospels at its very worst—a blend of vintage Catholic and Protestant exegesis should do. Add bits of Church history and dogma to taste (try to find juicy bits). Blend in as many rationalist, "liberal," mythological, and just plain foolish interpretations of the New Testament as the mixture will bear. Stir gently with a thinly-disguised anti-Christian tendency. Season with a few arbitrary textual emendations and a generous sprinkling of "scholarly" references. Serve in a large imposing vessel. The resulting dish will be just like grandma's home cooking—and indeed it might have been far more palatable in her day than in ours.

That is the sort of recipe Dr. Craveri must have had before him when he served this tome to the Italian public last year. Reactions of indignation, enthusiasm, or just ennui were predictable, and they came from predictable quarters. In its English dress (it is very com-

petently translated by Charles Lam Markmann) and in competition with the very considerable amount of first-quality critical writing on Christ and the Gospels available to readers of English today, the reaction will doubtless be merely one of ennui. We have seen too much of this kind of thing before.

It has become commonplace today for biblical scholars to assert that in the light of modern understanding of the Gospels it is no longer possible to write a "life of Jesus." But Craveri has rushed in where the scholars fear to tread, and even apart from its anti-Christian bias, his *Life of Jesus* is a good illustration of the scholars' current dictum. He brings to his work the background of a teacher of Italian and Latin literature and a long-time interest in the subject. He has also obviously read very extensively, especially in the literature of a generation or two ago. But he just does not seem to understand what the Gospels are, nor is it clear that he wants to.

One can get a quick notion of the character of the book in either of two ways. First by leafing through the thirty-seven pages of bibliography (ignoring such lapses as the preposterous dates given to J. Doresse's books on the *Gospel of Thomas*, on p. 480). Here the

striking thing is the overwhelming preponderance of older Catholic and Protestant works and what the author calls "rationalist and radical works," with only a sprinkling of titles representing contemporary critical scholarship of whatever persuasion. A second insight into the book can be gotten from a brief quotation, and the following is merely one example among many. "Therefore, the Catholic exegetes, ruling out any possibility of discrepancies among the Gospels (it must be remembered that, for the Church, they were dictated by God), argue that Matthew was Levi's surname. . . ." At least contemporary Catholic exegetes may be excused if they fail to recognize themselves in this caricature.

Every field of scholarship, including biblical scholarship, has constantly to labor toward the establishment of accepted methods and to re-evaluate so-called "assured results." Progress is often slow, often has its ups and downs, but it is there, and it does leave behind some of the methods that have been tried and found inadequate. By the standards of current biblical criticism, which no doubt rightly congratulates itself on its interconfessional acceptance, Craveri does things that chill the

exegete's spine. For example, he declares a certain Gospel form to be non-historical in its intention, though one could readily quarrel with his terms, and then criticizes its content for being a deliberate falsification of history—see his treatment of the Infancy Gospels.

Or he fails to recognize the literary form in the first place—see his criticism of the Matthean and Lukan genealogies. Or he ignores the growing consensus based on recent manuscript discoveries—see his dating of John's Gospel in the mid-second century. Or he alters the Greek text without any manuscript evidence or even sound reason—see his "improvement" of Matt. 3:17. Or he indulges in unfounded etymologies, apparently to confound the Evangelists—see his discussion of Golgotha. Or he grossly misrepresents the authorities he quotes—see his treatment of R. McL. Wilson. And one could prolong this list.

Even if we prescind from the inordinate amount of space given to the history and later character of the Church's development of the Gospel message, which is by no means easy to do if you read the book, and concentrate on the sections which do pretend to give a life of Jesus, it is impossible to judge the work favorably. The heart of the problem is that the author does not understand what the Gospels are meant to be. In recent years the methods of source-criticism have brought out clearly the inter-dependence of the Synoptics and the now widely-acknowledged independence of John. Form-criticism has, at least to some extent, bridged the gap between the events and the Gospels by way of the faith and the life of the early Church. Redaction-criticism, the most recent of the methods, has begun to show how the theology of the individual Evangelists is a factor in their presentation of the message about Jesus.

Craveri pays lip service to the first two of these methods, without convincing the reviewer that he understands either of them. The third he has simply not heard of. He pits the Evangelists against each other without the mediating forces of Church life and worship or individual theological insights. Despite occasional warnings against har-

Four ground-breaking books that cut through the confusion of the moment...and give provocative answers to questions of profound interest to Catholics today

WORK AND THE HUMAN SPIRIT

By DENNIS CLARK

The author of *The Ghetto Game* deals constructively with an omnipresent but seldom-discussed problem: Why do so many Americans find their jobs so frustrating? "Recommended."—*Library Journal*. \$3.95

BUILDING THE CITY

Christian Response and Responsibility

By ROBERT A. BRUNGS, S.J.

A young American priest-physicist spells out the contributions that the Christian can make to the "secular city." "A genuine contribution to post-conciliar dialogue in its search for a re-ordering of traditional doctrinal and moral teachings." —SR. CHARLES BORROMEO, C.S.C. \$5.00

HOPE OR HINDRANCE?

The Church of the Future

By ROSARIO SCARPATI

A noted sociologist makes "some very practical suggestions for the way in which the Church must realize her future. . . . One of the most important books to appear this year." —JOHN L. MCKENZIE, S.J. \$4.50

PRAYER AS A POLITICAL PROBLEM

By JEAN DANIELOU, S.J.

Is contemporary atheism here to stay? Will the Church tomorrow appeal only to a tiny minority? The answers of a great creative theologian are challenging and hopeful. \$3.50

At your bookstore



SHEED & WARD New York, N. Y. 10003

monizing the four Gospels, he harmonizes them himself and throws in, often uncritically, the Coptic Gnostic *Gospel of Thomas* as a fifth gospel. Some of his strictures against the Gospel interpretation of the churches (and Protestants fare little better than Catholics here) would no doubt have had some value in the past. They have none whatever at present.

Craveri's Jesus is not the Son of God, nor the Messiah, nor the founder of a religion, nor even a very intelligent man. He is a kind of ineffectual and even pusillanimous social reformer whom the Church, for its own purposes, as the author is fond of reminding us, has made into all the things the Christian tradition has seen in him. If the purpose of such a picture is to attack things in Christianity that need reform—and it is hard to believe this is not a large part of the author's purpose—then it has been done and is being done more effectively in many other ways. This approach leads nowhere.

The Intellectuals and McCarthy

MICHAEL PAUL ROGIN

M.I.T. Press, \$12.50

DANIEL AARON

The author of this cogent and persuasive monograph, a young political scientist at Berkeley, has not concerned himself with the social history of McCarthy's "crusade," the sorry story of murdered reputations and damaged lives. Rather he has cut through a fog of theory, historical and sociological, hanging over

McCarthy and McCarthyism, and offered some convincing answers to the fundamental question: Who supported McCarthy and why?

His conclusions in substance are these. McCarthyism was never a mass movement that disrupted traditional voting patterns. It might better be described as a short-lived but intense expression of right-wing Republicanism, especially strong in the middle-western branch of the party whose hard-core recoiled from eastern cosmopolitanism, New Dealism, and Communism. McCarthy's advent coincided with the Korean war when to large numbers of Americans the maneuvers of the Chinese and the Russians seemed to dramatize the sinister allegations of the Wisconsin Senator.

Roman Catholics were particularly sensitive to the Communism issue; so were Czech, Polish, and German Americans. Hence Rogin singles out foreign policy as the clue to McCarthy's rise. Republicans, both right wing and moderate, connived with him and used him so long as he could be of political service, but they junked him as soon as he became a liability. Many voters backed him for a time because he attacked what they feared, but McCarthyism, nihilistic in spirit, never constituted a political movement, nor could it ever have flourished outside of the Republican Party.

Rogin's findings, derived in part from a sophisticated analysis of voting patterns in Wisconsin and the two Dakotas, are not in themselves remarkable, but they take on an added interest if the reader is at all familiar with the work of certain well-known historians and sociologists whose interpretations of McCarthyism Rogin subjects to a polite but damaging analysis. These scholars, instead of seeing McCarthyism as merely another attempt to exploit the fear of Communism and as a way of attacking "the New Deal at home and the Fair Deal abroad," have translated it into something far more portentous. For them, Rogin asserts, it is nothing less than an embodiment of Populist democracy, a kind of political fundamentalism characteristic of extremism both left and right. McCarthyism thus interpreted is linked with strains of agrarian radical-

ism that date back to the post-Civil War period, a radicalism allegedly rural, anti-intellectual, anti-industrial, moralistic, xenophobic, authoritarian, and paranoid.

In challenging this contention, Rogin demonstrates in his statistical chapters how the "geographical coincidence" that seemed to link McCarthyism with agrarian radicalism concealed their essential dissimilarity. His breakdown of the voting returns in the middle-western states where Populism and La Follette Progressivism flourished indicates "no correlation between support for agrarian radicalism and support for McCarthy." On the contrary, it was the traditionally anti-Progressive and anti-Populistic sections that elected and sustained him. What is more, Rogin argues, the apocalyptic rhetoric and conspiratorial fantasies attributed to Populism by the "mythologizers" are part and parcel of conservative Republicanism as well. Not only does he take them to task for making unsupported generalizations about McCarthyism; they are also accused of misrepresenting the aims of the Populists and of failing to recognize that even mass political movements can sometimes be "a rational response to social crisis."

The Intellectuals and McCarthy is both a critique of the McCarthy movement and a measured polemic against a school of "consensus" academics who, it is implied, consciously or unconsciously are interpreting the past in the light of their current social preconceptions. As defenders of modern industrial society, distrusting the irrational and the ideological and fearful of social disorder, they see in mass movements reflections of "generalized resentments stemming from the deeper layers of the personality. Mass movements arise from the desperation, rootlessness, and irrational longings of isolated individuals. Their targets are scapegoats, and the solutions they propose are either harmless but pointless panaceas or else threaten to destroy the constitutional regime. Mass politics involve irrationality and chaos; group politics produce sensible and orderly conflict."

Behind the "pluralist" plea for diversity and tolerance, the channeling of

ECUMENICAL EXPERIMENTAL MINISTRY

WANTED: Ecumenical person, lay or clerical, Protestant or Catholic, seasoned and secure; capable of relating to people, for carefully planned and imaginative exploratory ministry in leisure ski center.

WRITE: The Reverend Eugene F. Mitchell, Clerk, K-PAEP,
71 Lincoln Avenue,
Rutland, Vermont 05701

popular will through responsible groups, is the ideal of a permanently disinterested elite working in behalf of the status quo. Without realizing it, the pluralists are the heirs of the old Progressives whose reformist philosophy had nothing in common with agrarian extremists. Like the modern pluralists, "they saw no contradiction between faith in the experts and faith in people," and they never understood, as the Populists did, "that one had to counterpose more than honest and scientific administration to business power and business values."

In short, according to Rogin, the pluralist assumption that McCarthyism, Populism, and Progressivism are cut from the same cloth ends by misconstruing all three movements. By implying that the "consensus academics," many of them ex-Leftists, have in effect become spokesmen for the liberal Establishment, Rogin hints of his own position. But the value of his book lies outside this issue. He has pretty well undermined a plausible thesis about McCarthyism and shown how political movements as different from each other as Populism and McCarthyism can express a genuine and not necessarily irrational national concern.

The Formation of Christendom

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

Sheed & Ward, 86

WILLIAM C. STOREY

English Catholic writers of a generation now almost gone have, it is regretfully conceded, an oddly dated quality which makes them, already, little more than objects of antiquarian interest. To reread Chesterton, Belloc, McNabb, Gill or Knox these days is a chastening and saddening experience. How the giants of yesteryear have bit the dust! Perhaps Christopher Dawson alone will be saved from that debilitating fate by the quality of his historical research, the craft of his writing and the durability of his central thesis as to the make-up of European history and culture.

Anyone familiar with the tendency of

his thought will not be surprised to learn that, when appointed the first occupant of the Stillman Chair of Roman Catholic Studies at Harvard in 1958, Mr. Dawson quite naturally chose "Christendom" as the over-arching theme of his lectures. Designed to appear as a trilogy in book form, volume two, *The Dividing of Christendom*, covering the period from the Protestant Reformation to the French Revolution, was published in 1965. The present, and superior, volume comprises the lectures of the first group, "dealing with the formation of Christendom, from its origins in the Judeo-Christian tradition through the rise and decline of medieval unity."

To his readers and devotees of previous years it is all pretty familiar ground covered again and again in such of his classics as *The Making of Europe* and *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture*. And yet—and this surely is a testimony to his enduring greatness—this perhaps final summation of his cultural thesis is the finest of them all. It is more conclusive, covers more actual historical ground and is even more lucidly and brilliantly drafted and composed from start to finish. The basic constituents of Latin Christendom and their fusion into "our" religious-cultural heritage from the High Middle Ages have never been better described or dramatized into one ordered reflection of their living whole. It is a work of art.

Despite its qualities, however, this fine book may be criticized in two regards. The first concerns bibliographical method. It is surely not petty to point out that fascinating quotations (above all!) and tantalizing allusions must be adequately footnoted lest the reader call down medieval curses upon the author's head. There are some dozen such bare-naked references in this book.

The second criticism is far more fundamental. Previous critics have said that the Dawsonian thesis on the religious-cultural unity of European civilization is a bit too neat, a little too smooth. I am afraid that his objectors will not be placated by the present version of the theory. It is not the sweeping generalization nor the grand view that annoy—indeed, synthesis is his special contribution—but rather all that is left unsaid and unsyn-

**The book
they
tried to
suppress**

**by
Robert
Adolfs,
O.S.A.**

The Grave of God

HAS the Church a future? If the Church continues in the present course, asserts Father Adolfs, it will end up performing only functional duties within an increasingly secular society, and will become, in fact, the grave of God.

The author insists that the Church's message to the world remains, but that it must first turn from the "regal road" and empty itself of all claims to worldly power, discarding the struggle to preserve an untarnished "image" before the world.

"Excellent and inspiring . . . a signal contribution to the emerging religious science of *aoristics*, that is, the investigation of the future insofar as it is indefinite and, therefore, open to human creation."—LESLIE DEWART, author of *THE FUTURE OF BELIEF*

\$4.50

**Also by Robert Adolfs —
THE CHURCH IS
DIFFERENT**

"The herald of a new day."

— ROBERT MCAFEE BROWN **\$3.95**

150th
ANNIVERSARY

At your bookseller

Harper & Row

Educational

INDIANA

Saint Mary's College Notre Dame

Fully accredited liberal arts college for women. Degrees: B.A., B.S., B.F.A., B. Music. Interdepartmental Christianity & Culture Program. Academic exchange program with University of Notre Dame. Conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross. Graduate School of Education for men and women. Catalog: Saint Mary's College
Box 71, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

NEW JERSEY

Delbarton School

Morristown, New Jersey. An hour's drive from the George Washington Bridge or Holland Tunnel. A country day and boarding school for boys conducted by Benedictine Monks. Six forms, comprising the 7th and 8th grades and four years of college preparatory courses. Small classes. Thorough guidance department. Complete athletic program. Write for prospectus to the Headmaster.

Classified

• **RATES:** 40¢ a word, 12 words minimum. Centered lines \$2.40 a line. Discounts: 3 times 5%; 7 times, 10%; 13 times, 15%. Payable with order.

Help Wanted

• **COMMUNITY WORKER** for coastal Maine CAP. To work with low income people. Must have enthusiasm, organizational ability. Salary \$7,200. \$8,000. Write BOX 825, Commonweal.

College Selection

• **THE AMERICAN COLLEGE SELECTOR**—recommends best choices from 1,000 accredited colleges and universities based on computer analysis of high school student and colleges. Free 16 page questionnaire. ACS, Dept. 32C, 3757 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90005.

STUDENT SUBSCRIPTIONS

CLASSROOM ORDERS, 10 or more copies for any number of weeks to one address, 15¢ a copy. Free copy added for instructor or distributor on request.

INDIVIDUAL STUDENT subscriptions: one year, \$6; eight months, \$4.

COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016.

thesized. Mr. Dawson is not above alluding to cracks and fissures in his "medieval unity," and yet the unwary reader of the work of art might come away with the impression that at least once in world history a cultural realization of the Christian ideal had been actually achieved. The Dawsonian thesis has more than done its part in discrediting the gloom-and-doom view of medieval culture and in replacing it by positive and comprehensive insights. The problem remains, however, that too much seems to have been glossed over and left unrecorded and unaccounted for. The fissures and the failures, the ugly and the discordant, the anomalous and the scandalous are all part of true history.

One significant example should suffice to indicate the drawbacks of a too artistic method. Mr. Dawson has some illuminating and undoubtedly correct points to make about the formative role of the Catholic liturgy on the medieval mind. He does not, however, let his readers in on the crude and devastating inadequacies of normal parish worship. The fact that for centuries the medieval Church allowed the preaching of the Word of God to fall into abeyance and the sacraments of Confirmation and Holy Communion into practical extinction is not a negligible incidental. Just as they are the staples of Catholic existence, what actually happened to them should be an important part of the historical account of the development of Christian culture.

Strangely enough, too, Mr. Dawson fails to allude to the appalling effects on the medieval mind of a non-vernacular liturgy. The plain fact that the vast majority of medieval Christians could not comprehend a word of what was sung at Matins, Mass and Vespers each Sunday

is a sure indication of how shallow so much of the Christian and Latin culture of the Middle Ages really was.

The Carpenter Years

ARTHUR A. COHEN

New American Library, \$4.50

RICHARD HORCHLER

The barest outline of Arthur Cohen's first novel is intriguing, exciting, filled with promise. It is about a Jew who stops being a Jew, or perhaps doesn't stop being a Jew even though he abandons his Jewish wife and child, becomes a Christian, changes his name and history, takes a new (Christian) wife and has another (Christian?) son.

And what could be more dramatic, as an idea than the confrontation of the father by the rejected Jewish son, after twenty years, and the thoughts and feelings of both father and son in the face of such an experience? Depths of human feeling, sociological revelation, psychological implication, religious reverberations—all these and more seem built into this material. A novel using it would have to be sure-fire, it would seem, especially if it were by a writer of Arthur Cohen's demonstrated intelligence, cultivation and sensitivity.

Unfortunately, it isn't sure-fire at all. *The Carpenter Years* is not a successful novel, which makes for particularly keen disappointment because it is—or has—a number of other very good things. Because Mr. Cohen is a thinker, there are important and provocative ideas in the book. Because he is a religious scholar and theologian, there are profound religious perceptions in it. Because he is a twentieth-century American and a believing Jew, there is in it an urgent concern for the spiritual meaning of the modern American experience, to the Jew and the Christian particularly.

But because Mr. Cohen is not a novelist—at least not yet a novelist—his interests, reflections and ideas are only hung on his characters and events, not embodied in them. Mr. Cohen is more interested in certain ideas and problems, it seems clear, than he is in his characters. If he were really interested in Ed-

REVIEWERS

FATHER GEORGE MACRAE, S.J., teaches at Weston College in Massachusetts.

DANIEL AARON is a member of the English Department at Smith College and author of *Writers on the Left*.

WILLIAM G. STOREY is an associate professor in the Graduate Program in Liturgical Studies at Notre Dame.

RICHARD HORCHLER is a member of the administrative staff of York College. City University of New York.

gar Morrison (Morris Edelman), for example, he would have to have seen a more complete, more believable human being than the one he presents. Morrison-Edelman's story—a monstrous story: twenty years past when we are introduced to him—is simply incredible. This is not to say that a history such as his is impossible, but that it is impossible for the man the author describes. Almost any man is capable of almost any action, of course, but actions to be believable and meaningful to a reader should be part of some kind of development, and in the case of Morrison-Edelman the past and present are linked only by the author's declaration. What we are shown of the character belies what we are told of him, and vice-versa.

At the core of the novel, Morrison-Edelman's flight from his Jewish identity is given some context and whatever measure of plausibility it has is mostly as a kind of theological betrayal, no doubt because this is what chiefly interested the author. The actual human betrayal, however—of wife, child, family, friends, psychological personhood—is so perfunctorily treated as to be unreal.

It is hard to believe in any of the characters, in fact, and therefore hard to take very seriously the objectively very serious things that happen in the novel. The dialogue, as part of this problem, seldom rings true, although the style is as graceful and sure in the expository passages as we would expect of Mr. Cohen. I am afraid that what he was trying to convey in *The Carpenter Years* would have been clearer—and better realized—in one of his philosophic essays.

CORRESPONDENCE



(Continued from page 539)

cisely intending it, has indeed created the means for establishing peace in the Middle East: she has conquered enough territory to become Palestine.

Before the establishment of a Jewish national state, many persons, notably including Martin Buber and Judah Magnes, favored the establishment of a binational state of Jews and Arabs.

That would have been the natural solution then, and still would be today.

A binational state would eliminate every major obstacle to peace in the area: it would settle the question of boundaries, guarantee all rights of natural access, solve the refugee problem, end the arms race, and defuse Great Power interference. It would no longer be the state toward which the neighboring states have vented their futile and self-defeating antagonism, but a state in which peaceful citizens of both nations could cooperate and contribute to the betterment of the whole region.

Granted that such a solution would involve basic constitutional change in a sovereign and triumphant state. That could not be imposed, but would have to be espoused. It does sound like fantasy. But the lone alternative to it appears to be the perpetuation and strengthening of the ring of hate around Israel. That would be immoral, wasteful and increasingly dangerous to all mankind, and should not be allowed to happen.

JAMES KRITZECK

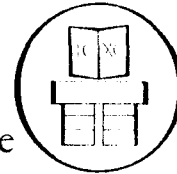
Confusion Charged

Toronto

To the Editors: I learned some time ago to recognize the futility of the Cold-War mentality. But I must protest about the editorial "Ideological Trap" (May 19), which betrayed a confusion of thought while at the same time decrying it. . . . What kind of contrast is it which speaks of authoritarian methods (easily leading to fascism), then of "the Communist model," which has had "significant accomplishments" in Russia . . . ?

Personally, I do not accept any form of totalitarianism, national or international; and however unmonolithic the various Communist parties may be, they remain *at least* authoritarian, and are not without interconnections and agreement upon some things which are to me simply inhuman. And though I now have the gravest doubts about the Vietnam war, one has only to look at the Lao Dong record in North Vietnam to see that one can't be complacent about *that* party. . . .

P. B. BLANEY



The Liturgical Conference

is looking for the
Best Person Available as

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Applicants must bring to this position:

- High interest in the renewal and liturgy;
- Proven ability in administration and organization;
- Creativity, imagination and energy.

He will serve as executive of 6,000 member organization with Washington headquarters staff of 12.

Salary open; meets levels for highly competent executive of professional associations. Open to layman or cleric. Applications treated in confidence.

Send full resume and references to:

The President
Liturgical Conference
2900 Newton Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20018

In What Sense Catholic?

Is COMMONWEAL a Catholic magazine? This is a question people often ask. If to be Catholic means to be an organ of the Church or of some official organization in the Church, the answer is obviously "no." The hierarchy has certainly given us no special mandate to speak. Nor can we claim to be the voice of the Catholic laity as a group—who can? If these things are what is meant by being Catholic, we would have to abdicate all claim. For all of its life, however, COMMONWEAL has been accepted as in some sense a Catholic publication, and with reason. The magazine is and has always been published by a small group of journalists who are themselves Catholic. They are men who are concerned with Catholicism, and with the meeting of spiritual and temporal. It is this characteristic that has primarily distinguished COMMONWEAL from other journals of opinion.

It is a fact, too, and not without significance, that most of our readers and many of our writers are also Catholics who have comparable interests. Such readers look to us for our views as Catholic laymen on the Church and the world, and such writers turn to us precisely because in our pages they can express these same concerns. Then too we have many non-Catholic readers and writers, and this also we would cite as part of being Catholic. Our non-Catholic readers look to us for a certain kind of Catholic thinking. Our non-Catholic writers know they are welcome in our pages because we conceive of the Catholic spirit as one which welcomes good thinking and good writing, wherever found.

—COMMONWEAL, May 19

A trial subscription to this lay-edited journal of opinion saves you 60% of the single-copy price—and, as a bonus, you may have the widely discussed 48-page issue, *Contemporary Perspectives on God*. Use attached coupon or a facsimile.

Fall Subscription Offer For New Subscribers Only

----- 17 Issues for \$2 -----

COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016

Enclosed is \$2. Please send the next 17 issues of Commonweal, and the special issue on God, to:

Name

Address

City.....State.....Zip Code.....

☐ I prefer the regular one-year subscription at \$9.

9/8/67

